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law; and our subject may be divided roughly into two parts. There are first the norms, the ideals, the theoretical standards of morality, which, however dimly formulated in the native mind, are nevertheless to be discovered by observation of his conduct. These standards define the kinds of behaviour which, in relation to the society which has evolved them, are satisfactory, i.e. the kinds of behaviour which have been found to *work*. Selected by generations, they have been unconsciously designed to suit the narrow needs of family, clan, or tribal unit; they are essentially social norms, and they are meant to ensure the smooth running and happiness of social life. It is our first business then to formulate these standards—a work in which unfortunately we may look for little direct assistance from the native himself, who is not a preacher or a moralist. Now these standards, although there is no central authority to enforce them, are nevertheless observed with a large measure of fidelity; for the individual is so sunk in the social unit that he obeys its laws for the most part automatically. But no Orokaiva is perfect, nor is he absolutely under the thumb of the society he lives in, so that there is inevitably a falling-short of the standards; and our second task is therefore to discover what means Orokaiva society has of ensuring a fair degree of good conduct, of keeping the individual up to the scratch; in short what are the sanctions of Orokaiva morality.

The Sympathy Group

The primitive ideal of conduct divides itself immediately and emphatically into two. There is first the question of proper conduct towards one's fellows within the group, and second the question of proper conduct towards those outside the group; or in a phrase there are the standards of *intra-group* and *extra-group* morality. These two—divergent as they are in civilized society—are found to be almost antithetical in primitive society. It might fairly be maintained that the sphere, i.e. the actual size of the group, within which the former standard holds good should constitute a fair criterion of moral advancement. It is true there are those who (with more or less sincerity) feel themselves members

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571 of a world-brotherhood, and with such the distinction between intra-group and extra-group morality fades out of
571 sight—theoretically. But in practice there are units of every degree, from nations down to families, to which the individual feels he owes allegiance; he gives them his sympathy, and from them he expects to receive sympathy; and their limits are the limits of his intra-group morality. For convenience this unit may be called the *sympathy-group*.

571 In terms of the above criterion, the smaller the group the more primitive the society, or vice versa. In the case of the Orokaiva I have already dwelt on the character of the clan. In the typical instance clan and village coincide, and this clan-village unit is the one which, more decidedly than any other, encloses the intra-group morality of the individual. But the unit is not hard and fast: it may fluctuate with circumstances. Sometimes the group dwindles, and a man finds himself taking sides with more immediate relatives against the other members of the clan-village unit (though it is safe to say that in the primitive society of the Orokaiva this does not happen very often). On the other hand the sympathy-group will sometimes embrace a number of clan-village units, as indeed it does (1) with the clan, which is sometimes widely scattered, (2) with the locality group, which takes in a number of villages, and (3) with the tribe as a whole. But, while civilized man may sacrifice the interests of the smaller and more immediate sympathy-group to those of the comprehensive body of which the former is merely a component, we do not find any such sacrifice among the primitive; and when, as it is sometimes bound to do, discord enters, it is followed by disintegration; the circle of the individual's fellows immediately contracts, and we find once more the elementary small sympathy-groups.

It is not necessary, then, to define strictly the scope of the sympathy-group, which is a fluctuating thing; though among the Orokaiva, as before stated, it is seen most typically in the clan-village unit. Whatever its size, however, it is always in existence, and proper conduct within and proper conduct without that group are very different things.

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The distinction is simply between fellow men and men who are not fellows.

Extra-Group Morality

Since the interest of this chapter will be principally with intra-group morality we may dismiss the other side of the question rather briefly. We have seen that the Orokaiva tribe lived in a state of ever-recurring warfare with some or other of its neighbours. There were peace-makings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no village lived in permanent security. The Orokaiva achieved and probably deserved a warlike reputation, and in such conditions it is not surprising that they should set some store upon the virtue of bravery—though it does not seem to take the foremost place that we might expect. A brave warrior was called *koropa-embo*, a 'spearman', or *ivu-embu*, a 'manly man', *ivu* being the word for husband or a fully matured man. Another term is *sarika*, which is perhaps best translated 'formidable', and connotes not only fierceness but size and strength. (By way of example one of the late magistrates of the Division was called *sarika* on account of stature, and another on account of his severity.) A coward is called *atoba-embo* or *jouro-buso*, and of course there are to be found some cowards among a generally brave race. Some of my informants in one village named a few men as *atoba* (and it is interesting to note in passing that, like true native gentlemen, they named them in whispers for fear the men in question should overhear and have their feelings hurt).

But more striking than any bravery is the sheer bloodthirstiness which seems actually to be raised to the status of a virtue. It is not for fearlessness that the insignia called *esa* or *otobu* (p. 177) are bestowed, but for the mere taking of human life. Many an old warrior, counting over his victims, will show as great a pride in the slaughter of women and children as in a man-to-man victory; and indeed the majority of Orokaiva victims have met their end in surprise and massacre rather than in fair fight. While I have found no evidence to show that the Orokaiva was expected some-

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patriarchate which has been the Orokaiva fashion. While, however, we may welcome these signs of an incipient chieftainship in the power and influence of the Taro men, we cannot deny that they are to some extent—how far I have been unable to decide—founded upon the obnoxious practice of sorcery. Incidentally the theory of possession and the double role of priest and magician which the Taro man is called upon to play may give some colour to the theory that the functions of magician, priest, and chieftain were originally combined.

We have already noted the mutual amity which prevails among all branches of the cult, and have discovered cause to suspect that it is based on the fear of sorcery (p. 47). This general amity or fraternity, however, whatever its basis may be, is not only a striking, but on the whole a commendable feature of the cult. Clashes of arms—part in fun, part in earnest—are still common enough among the clans of the north; the warlike display at the welcome of visitors which sometimes leads to these affrays is in fact a regular custom. But although the Taro parties are constantly engaged in travel and visiting, I know of no serious quarrel between rival parties *qua* Taro parties. It is not necessary to observe that, but for the previous pacification of the Division, the Taro cult could never have spread itself so widely in so short a time. But it is still true that the cult is consolidating the work to which it was in the first place indebted. In fine, by arousing this elementary tendency toward cohesion, by establishing the intertribal power of a few individuals, and by advancing the spirit of intertribal friendliness, the Taro cult has played its part in emphasizing the unity of the Orokaiva. No movement of native origin has, since European occupation, made the same universal appeal to all the clans and tribes of this people.

We may briefly consider the effect of the Taro cult on Orokaiva art. This art, comparatively ill-developed on the decorative side, has attained to a high degree of perfection in the conduct of certain ceremonies. The